THE NEW REPUBLIC

De Gaulle Stands Firm

Jean Daniel

Will Chiang Step Down?

John T. T. Ma

An Outburst of Servility

Gerald W. Johnson

Ezra Pound and History

Delmore Schwartz

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Bouncing off the Moon

★ They were bouncing messages off the moon at a great rate last week between Annapolis and Pearl Harbor in the official opening of a new naval service. We had our man out at the Communications Station near Cheltenham, Md., and he brought back the yellow teletype copy of the first lunar message sent from NSS (Annapolis call letter) to NPM (Pearl Harbor). We think it dramatizes the distance we have all come since Samuel Morse opened the telegraph with "What hath God wrought?" This one began *"Testing,"* and continued, *"The quick brown fox jumped over the lazy dog."*

It got from here to Hawaii via the moon in 2½ seconds.

Presidents and Generals

★ Charles de Gaulle faced down a revolution last week while the world gasped. General de Gaulle may be insupportable, but he is also magnificent. He kept his head, fired insubordinate Major General Massu and now appears to be the victor. Incidentally, we note that five-star General of the Army Douglas MacArthur celebrated his 80th birthday but has gone for a hospital check-up. Nothing serious, we trust. Truman, you remember, had to snake back MacArthur for a little matter of insubordination which made him a hero with Republicans and their keynoter in 1952. Wonder if de Gaulle leaves Massu on full $20,543 pay, with perquisites and outriders?

It's always a pleasure to praise Eisenhower, who has done two fine things recently. He adopted just the right, patient tone toward Cuba's Castro when the temptation to slap him down must have been great. Slapping Castro down would, of course, ruin us with the rest of Latin America where opinion is just beginning to harden against that intemperate young man. Secondly, Eisenhower backed a proposed system for federal court appointed registrars to see that Southern Negroes get a chance to vote when local agencies won't act. It is true, Ike didn't seem to understand the plan at his press conference and referred us to Attorney General Rogers. But that is all right if he will support the plan; particularly with fellow Republicans in Congress who so far have been helping out the Southern conservatives.

There are about 5 million Negroes of voting age in the South, only a quarter of whom were registered for voting in 1958. The big fact everybody knows is that if they ever really and truly begin to support their economic interests at the polls you will have a liberal South.

The next tight-money recession is scheduled for 1961. Eisenhower's policies have given us two: 1953-54 and 1957-58. Number 3 should be along punctually after the election. Recessions rarely come in election years; they show up the year after. Some people think that the current stock market slump is the Third Eisenhower Recession, ahead of time. We don't. While it is true that the market lost $23.4 billion in paper values in January, business itself is good. It's the market that's too high. No other Administration has so artificially pumped up the market by scaring people about inflation; for two years people have bought stocks as a hedge. Now artificial stock values are way out of line with bond values, and something must give. We presume there will be new market rallies and later a bigger fall. But a recession? – no. Give tight money another year for *that*.

The Fantastic Tranquilizers

★ Consider, friends, these two little pills: they are alike in size, shape, and chemical formulae; they are tranquilizers and for many distraught people make the difference between being at home or in a mental hospital. But one pill is sold for $4.41 per 1,000 and the other for $65.83, and because the expensive one has a brand name and is probably the one your doctor prescribes at your favorite druggist that is the one most patients buy. The fantastic story of tranquilizer profits has now been concluded by the Kefauver investigation during which the Justice Department has started one antitrust suit and the head of the National Committee Against Mental Illness has blasted the drug companies. But GOP Senate leader Everett Dirksen (Ill.) doesn't like the inquiry. A member of the subcommittee himself, he thinks business free enterprise should be protected.

Cheers and Criticism

★ One fine thing about Eisenhower – he has faith in America. The atheistic Soviets may be narrowing the economic gap and widening the missile gap, but what of that? As he told his cheering GOP audience at Los Angeles there are even some "spurious assertions" that "her [America's] educational and health efforts are deficient." Hard to believe, but true! He remarked – "In this kind of preachment, political morticians are exhibiting a breast-beating pessimism in the American system."

That rejoinder should have halted anybody, but criticism goes on. Democratic Senators were grim after listening to a four hour briefing by Central Intelligence Director Allen Dulles, whose testimony cancelled out the rosy glow that Defense Secretary Gates sought to instill earlier. Now such diverse voices as Walter Lippmann, Joseph Alsop and General Medaris join the attack.

Another satisfactory thing about the President is the way he enjoys a vacation. We forget which – he was either resting up from his last trip abroad or for the next one to come – but anyway, he managed to stretch his California weekend to five days, with a splendid 18 holes daily. The public never loved him so much.

Nixon, meanwhile, has taken a high-level stance likely to last out the campaign. Toward Democratic attacks he turns a grave smile; he supports the Administration in toto, but always intimates that he will act more energetically. It must have chilled Agriculture Secretary Benson a bit, for example, when he hailed America's huge agricultural output but added that "there is no higher legislative priority than overhauling of obsolete farm programs."

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Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
Selig S. Harrison, Associate Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:
Robert Brustein, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, James E. King, Jr., Helen Hill Miller, Louis H. Pollak, Howard Simons, Michael Straight

Cartoon:

10. The Washington Post

Farsighted members and observers of the 86th Congress are having visions of the House of Representatives becoming the graveyard of Democratic Presidential hopes for 1960. It is reasonable to anticipate that Lyndon Johnson, as a candidate for something more than Majority Leader, will be more forceful – and successful – in pushing through bills that appeal to large numbers of voters than he has been in the past. But judging by present conditions, it is less probable that the House will join in passing the kinds of civil rights, housing, education and minimum wage bills the country wants – and the Democratic Party needs to elect a President.

Seventy-eight-year-old Speaker Rayburn is no longer master in his house. The combination that the new Minority Leader, Charles Halleck of Indiana, has formed with right-wing Southern Democrats led by Howard Smith of Virginia is proving too much for him. Rayburn and former GOP leader Joe Martin (Mass.) had an easy understanding, lubricated by considerable personal affection. Their relationship had more the quality of a minuet than a no-holds-barred political contest. Halleck, however, is a self-styled "gut-fighter," who uses every tactic the rules allow with ruthless skill. Usually with Martin's help, Rayburn eventually got what he wanted out of the all-powerful Rules Committee which Smith heads. Rayburn's failure to force out the labor bill last August – some say the most humiliating defeat he ever suffered – marked the end of that era of good feeling. And both the Speaker and his party face worse humiliation this year unless the Smith-Halleck blockade is broken.

But what can Mr. Rayburn do? Howard Smith rules the Rules Committee by virtue of the seniority system. And neither Speaker Rayburn nor any of the rest of the Congressional hierarchy are about to abandon that cherished institution. What is ultimately needed at the very least is to remove the House Rules Committee – which decides what bills shall be allowed to come up on the floor and when – from the seniority system and operate it along the lines of the Senate Policy Committee, as an instrument of majority policy. But that is not a practical policy at this moment. There are, however, ways Mr. Rayburn could make the majority will felt even under present rules, *if he exerts himself.* (There is a ditty to describe the reception he is likely to receive: "I love Speaker Rayburn, his heart is so warm, / And if I love him, he'll do me no harm. / So I shan't sass the Speaker one least little bitty, / And then I'll wind up on a Major Committee.") If Rayburn really brought the full force of his

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influence to bear, most of the major bills pending could be brought to a vote by discharge petition. Two hundred nineteen signers are required thus to bypass the Rules Committee. A petition to free the civil rights bill by this method has received 180 signatures in this session since Mr. Rayburn recommended it on opening day. Because of Southern sensibilities, Rayburn has a disadvantage in delivering on this bill. (Probably the petition will fill up with Republican names only when Mr. Nixon gives Halleck the signal that the proper moment has come.) But on economic questions this is not the case. There are 280 Democrats in the House – roughly 180 non-Southerners and 100 Southerners, of whom perhaps 50 of the latter are moderate liberals on economic issues. Surely Rayburn could persuade 40 or more (who don't like Smith anyway) to sign to discharge the Rules Committee if he let the boys know that, "If you want to get along, go along" on this one.

A second more cumbersome and seldom used technique for by-passing Rules is available too. Every alternate Wednesday – known as Calendar Wednesday – according to the standing rules the Speaker recognizes committee Chairmen to call up pending bills. If Rayburn chose to get tough with his Chairmen this route could be taken to bring up measures directly.

In either case, the Democratic program can be saved from stampede in spite of the rush to early adjournment for the national conventions if Mr. Rayburn decides to get out of his rut and show Mr. Halleck what a determined leader can do.

Subsidies for Schools

The report on education just released by the Democratic Advisory Council supports the National Education Association's proposals of massive federal aid for school and college construction, school teachers' salaries and college students' scholarships. The major expenditure recommended is for subsidies to the states (such as those proposed in the original Murray-Metcalf bill) beginning at $25 a year per student, and rising gradually over four years to $100 a year. The report defends federal funds for schools on the ground that the whole nation has a stake in the education offered by each community. As New York City attests, bad schools in the South and in Puerto Rico are everybody's problem, not just the Southerner's and the Puerto Rican's. And New York is not unusual. The majority of people in most American communities were educated elsewhere. From a more legalistic viewpoint, since the federal government is now responsible in the last analysis for the general welfare – economic, social, and military ——it inevitably becomes responsible for the schools which greatly affect national development in all these fields.

Despite these arguments, local school boards inhabit the mind's eye of the Advisory Council as a manifestation of Jeffersonian democracy at work, and absolute local control of the schools is regarded as both desirable and workable. The Council seems never to have encountered that un-Jeffersonian 20th Century school board which is composed of ambitious politicians and irate taxpayers who would rather keep the local property tax down than provide children with a decent education. As a result, the Council prefers direct payments to the states with no strings attached, instead of directed assistance for specific projects such as is provided by the National Defense Education Act for assistance to needy college students – improvement of science and language teaching and so forth. These NDEA grants *are* a threat to local control of the schools, and are designed as such. They are designed to assure that public money will be spent for certain programs which local school boards perennially undernourish. Given the choice, local school boards often provide funds for gymnasiums instead of laboratories, driver education instead of needy local college applicants, and for this reason the NDEA leaves no local option.

Local control of education has got the schools into their present condition. Is it not, then, unreasonable to ask the federal government to bail the communities out and take no responsibility for their future good behavior? The Council recommends, for example, that the President should make an annual report to Congress on education, comparable to his report on the economy, and that Congress hold hearings to discuss this report, and to analyze the over-all effect of the more than 300 separate federal appropriations for education. Yet the Council does not carry the suggested analogy between economics and education very far. Would not the implicit assumption of responsibility for the schools by the President and Congress push "local control" of education into the same probationary position that "private enterprise" has occupied in the economy since the government's ultimate responsibility in that sphere was accepted in 1933? If the federal government is to make it the nation's business to assure that the citizenry is not ignorant, as the Council urges, then it will sooner or later have to use legislation as well as subsidies to guarantee that the young *are* educated. The courts have already interfered with the autonomy of local school boards to guarantee racial and religious rights. Why should the government not intervene in the interest of national security and demand that every school board provide remedial reading instruction to illiterates of all ages, so that they can read newspapers and know what they have read – or so that they can at least fulfill their obligations for military service.

"The recruits entering the services today," reports Hanson Baldwin of *The New York Times*, "are not really a cross-section of US youth. They, are, rather, the top 55 to 65 percent of American youth. The bottom portion

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has already been rejected for physical, mental, emotional or character deficiencies at recruiting stations, examining stations, induction stations, reception centers or elsewhere. Even so, of the men who report for basic training and don the uniform, a large number are so poorly equipped for life that they never finish the first four to twelve weeks of service. And training officers stress the wide variations in scholastic standards. They have found that *six, eight, ten or twelve years in school does not necessarily mean that a man can read or write, add or subtract* [italics added]. More often than not his general fund of information is woefully inadequate.

Federal support for schools will not mean that Washington bureaucrats can tell teachers how to teach their courses. As the Advisory Council points out, teachers working in schools now run by the federal government are on the whole less subject to such interference than teachers in locally-controlled schools. The popular fancy that pedagogical freedom, not to mention excellence, can only be safely anchored in absolute local autonomy is nonsense. California, to take one example, has a panoply of teacher oaths that makes the Congress look as liberal as Robert Maynard Hutchins. The danger is not that the Congress will demand too much for its money, but that it will demand too little.

But perhaps it is fortunate that the Democratic Advisory Council does not look that far ahead, for if local *vs* federal "control" became a campaign issue this year, the infinite faith of the American people in their own provincial wisdom would undoubtedly assert itself, and federalists would go down to defeat. And so, federal aid to education will be billed in 1960 as a "subsidy"; and as any farmer, oil speculator, shipbuilder or wool merchant will tell you, a subsidy is merely a device for bolstering individualism, independence and the American Way of Life.

Bowles and Kennedy

Chester Bowles' reported decision to accept the role of Jack Kennedy's foreign policy adviser is in our view an important breakthrough for Senator Kennedy. Bowles may not bring with him a bagful of delegate votes, but the prospect of his becoming Secretary of State in a Kennedy Administration is likely to enhance Kennedy's standing among liberal Democrats.

The Bowles-Kennedy alliance grows naturally out of the Massachusetts Senator's increasing emphasis on foreign affairs and his commitment to a foreign policy virtually indistinguishable in essentials from that of Bowles or Humphrey or Stevenson. Bowles and Kennedy worked together closely in the last session of Congress in efforts to place the Development Loan Fund on a long-term financial footing. The Algerian self-determination program outlined by Kennedy three years ago (for which he was taken to task by both Secretary Dulles and Dean Acheson) stands up impressively in the light of recent events. He has taken leadership on joint Western aid for India and on a flexible policy of economic aid to Eastern Europe. He calls for our quitting Quemoy and Matsu and for setting standards looking toward Peking's recognition and UN entry.

To appreciate what Bowles gets out of the alliance, one must look to the central position of the Connecticut Democratic organization in the Kennedy campaign and to the past coolness of some old-line party factions in New England toward Bowles. Like Kennedy, he fortifies himself in his weakest constituency. Moreover, those who see Bowles as a dark horse for the Democratic nomination can be encouraged by Kennedy's show of confidence and esteem. In the months ahead the friendship between Kennedy and Bowles will not be put to the exacting test of bitterly-fought primaries. At the national convention in Los Angeles, should Kennedy not make it, he may be as likely to turn to Bowles as any of the more obvious alternatives.

Buying on Time

Paul Douglas has put before the Senate a bill to require that the vendors of mortgage and consumer credit tell the customer just how much the credit will cost him. The knowledge may not make the consumer free, but it may make him more canny. Credit is often advertised at three percent per month, but how many buyers calculate that this means 36 percent per year on the principle and almost double that amount on the average unpaid balance? Discounts, fees, points or service charges are seldom expressed as interest costs. Yet the customer pays them. Some vendors calculate the financing costs before the down payment is deducted. The consumer then pays interest on his own money.

Under the Douglas labeling bill, the total amount of all of these charges and the true interest rate would have to be noted at a conspicuous place on the credit contract

COMING

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Reinhold Niebuhr, Harry Golden and the Reverend Thurston N. Davis discuss John Steinbeck's charge that America has become "cynically immoral."

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itself. Consumers might then think twice before taking on financing charges almost as large as the cost of the television set or automatic washer itself. The credit vendors would be forced to stop sharp practices or they would risk fines of not more than $5,000, imprisonment of up to a year, or both.

The law Senator Douglas has in mind might also help to keep the expansion of consumer credit at a more even rate and at one which could be sustained. In 1955 consumers took on such large repayment commitments that they had to cut back on other purchases. Large monthly payments over a period of three or more years also ate into future purchases.

While the bill is no substitute for proper monetary and fiscal policies, it would help stabilize one of the biggest variables in the economy and one which is not now reached by general monetary controls.

The Drug Habit

There are some 45,391 active drug addicts in the United States, Narcotics Commissioner Harry J. Anslinger disclosed last week. That statistic defies translation into human terms. The importation and distribution of drugs, as the Mayor of New York City has said, is "big-time, well-financed, well-organized, going well beyond the police powers of any city or state." Profit from sales enriches those at the highest levels of crime, notably the Mafia, credited with smuggling most of the drugs into this country.

But what are the responsible members of society doing about it? When the addict isn't on the streets, he is either in the hands of the police or the courts, though he belongs, rather, in the care of doctors and psychiatrists. Medically, the addiction problem has its frustrations. No worthwhile cure for this relatively unexplored illness has been found. The percentage of addicts who "stay off" drugs after receiving what medical help is available is discouragingly small. And there are only two public hospitals in the US devoted principally to the care of the addict – the federal hospitals at Fort Worth, Texas, and Lexington, Kentucky.

One encouraging step has recently been taken in New York City, which has 20,732 addicts, or 45.7 of the nation's total. Sections of two metropolitan hospitals have been set aside for treatment of addiction. Each of the hospitals is connected with medical schools so that proper research facilities and personnel can be put to service. The New York experiment should yield practical knowledge on how better to deal with this torturous habit. But more than medical expertise is needed if the disease is to be conquered. The public and the law-makers must be convinced first that addiction *is* a disease and not a willful defiance of the community which should be punished by the courts.

Coexistence in Africa

The detonations in Algeria have echoed throughout the African continent – ringing in Prime Minister Macmillan's ear as an awful warning during his tour of Central Africa. Broadly speaking, all the European countries with imperial possessions in Africa, including France herself, have adapted themselves, though often rather late, to the spring tide of local nationalism wherever there was no sizable minority of white settlers to complicate the issue. But everywhere that Europeans have settled in large numbers on the soil of Africa their home governments have tended to give them disproportionate consideration. Algeria is the most terrible example: for here the influence of the white settlers finally became so absolute as to challenge the political system of the mother country itself.

In the last few years there were dangers that British policy might be similarly distorted by the settler populations in Central Africa and Kenya. The Mau Mau terror in Kenya gave Europeans a dangerously false picture of African nationalism, and during the formative years of the Central African Federation the British Government seemed to bend over backwards to appease Sir Roy Welensky, the South Rhodesian who is now Prime Minister of the Federation. But new evidence is multiplying that Britain has decided on a fundamental shift of policy through East and Central Africa. Her decision to give democratic self-government next year to the trust territory of Tanganyika is a straw in the wind. For the Africans in Tanganyika are in no way better qualified to rule themselves than their neighbors in Nyasaland and Kenya, the overwhelming majority of whom do not yet even have a vote. It is now publicly defined as the goal of Britain's policy in Kenya that the territory should become independent under the rule of an African majority – the argument now is about the pace of advance toward the goal and the nature of the guarantees provided for the European and Asian minorities.

On the future of the Central African Federation Macmillan has been more cautious. While he was still in Nigeria he announced that Britain would not allow the Federation to become fully independent – London still has residual powers to protect the Africans in the colonies of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland – until the latter territories "have real self-government – the machinery to express their will through an elected government of some kind."

It is too soon to say whether Macmillan will carry out his new policy fast enough to satisfy nationalist opinion in the northern territories. But the decisive factor in saving Britain from the fate of France in Algeria is numerical – as against the 4.5 million Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland there are under 80,000 Europeans, little more than the equivalent of the parliamentary constituency in Britain.

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ALGERIA

"Nothing Can Make Me Yield" – de Gaulle

by Jean Daniel

Paris

The shocking political drama being enacted in France at the present time developed so abruptly that a reading of the situation should be taken daily, and sometimes even several times a day. So far, the most vital factor remains certain: this is the firmness of General de Gaulle. At the last Council of Ministers, the French Chief of State opened the assembly by stating: "Gentlemen, before the discussion begins, I should inform you of several personal decisions I have reached. First, I have no intention of leaving; I have no intention of resigning, nor of giving way to any sort of pressure. Next, those of you who wish to resign should do so forthwith. You will be replaced immediately. And finally, the Algerian policy set forth on September 16 is based on the right of all Algerians to self-determination, and shall be solemnly reaffirmed. In the same spirit, all insurrectionists in Algeria and all their accomplices shall, without exception, be prosecuted for attacking the internal security of the government." In other words, the test of strength has begun. Moreover, a few days later General de Gaulle received his old friend and former schoolfellow, Marshal Alphonse Juin. The latter, a Frenchman from Algeria, who now regrets having accompanied Pierre Mendès-France to Carthage to guarantee the granting of Tunisia's internal autonomy, has for the past several months been taking a corresponding position against de Gaulle's theories on Algeria. He requested General de Gaulle to renounce the idea of self-determination and to withdraw the orders to fire on Algerian rebels. The President of the Republic replied: "I am old and tired, and death lies in wait for me at the next turn. But my mind is made up. Nothing can make me yield." "In that case," responded France's only remaining Marshal, "I shall be forced to denounce your policies publicly." To which de Gaulle replied in conclusion: "I know it. This will change nothing." All Paris keeps repeating these anecdotes to itself to bolster its morale, for the fact is that the survival of the government of the Republic and the preservation of any chance to reestablish peace in Algeria depend today solely on the physical condition, character and stamina of a 70-year-old man whom the burden of deceit has aged still further.

Should this contest of strength be continued, what trump cards does General de Gaulle hold?

1. *The political vacuum* – The inability of the 4th Republic to terminate the war in Algeria culminated on May 13, 1958, in an abdication of the parties, a transformation of institutions, and finally, in a system of government conceived and carried out by and for General de Gaulle. Without him, this is not a viable system. It is based entirely on his prestige, his authority, the confidence in him which is his capital, and his credit rating with the international world. Prior to May 13, in periods of crisis, everyone in politics would say to themselves: "Some day we may have recourse to de Gaulle." Today, there is no one left to whom recourse may be had. For some months now the President of France, obsessed by the notion of approaching death, has been considering the inaugurating of institutions which would permit France to dispense with "the indispensable man." This should have been thought of on May 13. But it was a vicious circle then: in order to come to power, everything had to be done to create the belief that there was no one but de Gaulle. After power has been reached, it becomes all but impossible to restore the traditional hierarchy. In any event, the Army knows that if de Gaulle leaves, the course of events is left to chance, and one part of the Army has no desire to take this risk. Only one part, however. Most of metropolitan France is even less inclined to leave matters to chance. Almost all men in politics realize that the departure of General de Gaulle would not permit them to govern, and would leave them in the status of mere representatives of the activist officers in Algeria.

2. *Metropolitan France wants peace in Algeria* – All recent polls of public opinion have showed that more than 80 percent of the French in metropolitan France approve of General de Gaulle's Algerian policy. A large proportion of Frenchmen are home-loving types, individualists, petty bourgeois, who have nothing but aversion for the gambles of colonialism, even when these prove successful. Their attitude is not so much one of anti-colonialism as of middle-class conservatism, heightened at present by the fact of an undeniable economic recovery and waxing prosperity. The leftist parties oppose the Algerian war in the name of idealism. The extreme rightist groups accept the war in the name of another kind of idealism. But for the most part, the average Frenchman, the man in the street, would like to see an end to this endless war which causes Republic

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after Republic to fall; which corrupts the youth of France by hardening it to torture and accustoming it to an abnormal way of life; and which, finally, causes all France to live in a state of permanent uncertainty.

3. *International support* – This is an extremely indirect trump-card, but one which has very specific domestic repercussions. There are today only two power-groups in France: the Army and the Communists. American support of the self-determination policy carries weight – often substantial weight – in capitalist and middle-class circles sometimes linked with certain Chiefs of Staff. I know that rumors are rife in Paris now to the effect that American circles of influence, in retaliation for General de Gaulle's attitude on NATO, would like to favor a Juin-Pinay-Bidault coalition; but this concept seems to me so insane, this attitude so absurd and fraught with risk, that I can scarcely give it serious credence. It is indeed difficult to imagine how persons who, during the Algerian war, succeeded in being merely the handmaidens of a chauvinistic insurrection, could be expected to serve as a balance-wheel for NATO.

On the other hand, the attitude of the Russians on the eve of Khrushchev's arrival in France is very favorable to General de Gaulle. In the event of a plebiscite, all the French Communists will vote for self-determination. In a contest of strength, the French Communist trade unions – the strongest ones, that is – will even sally forth to do battle in the streets with the extreme rightists. The good relations between de Gaulle and Khrushchev, the outlook for the Summit conference, the mystical concept of a "relaxation of tension" – all these do not alone explain the Soviet behavior. The Russians fear a repetition of the Indo-China experience. As they see it, if France leaves, the Americans will move in. In Black Africa, for example, they hope that the experience of the *Communauté* will be successful for France, at least until Soviet positions in Africa are stronger. In Algeria, their Arab policy virtually compels them to support the policy of the FLN rebels, but they fear intervention from China which would lead to an internationalization of the conflict and, therefore, to a partition; and this in turn, to the immediate or eventual presence of the Americans. Broadly speaking, therefore, where Algeria is concerned de Gaulle has both Russian and US support.

Nonetheless, these three trump cards are exceedingly weak. Why? Because for the past five years Algeria has been an area sealed off and ruled by an Army whose duty is to defend the interests of France, but which has almost nothing to do with the French nation. The problem is no longer in any way one of Europeans in Algeria or, as they put it in the United States, a colonial problem. To tell the truth, if a day of settlement comes, the great landholders, the former "lords of colonialism," would be the easiest group to convince. It is an erroneous and Marxist view to believe that there is conflict between the exploiters and the exploited. This used to be partially true; it plays a certain role even today. In truth, however, since Sahara, and since the independence of Tunisia and Morocco, it may be said that there are just as many capitalist powers opposed to emancipation in Algeria as there are powers resigned to it. French management in metropolitan France is, for example, completely resigned to Algerian independence.

No, the truth is that there are in Algerian territory two peoples, two communities, two nationalisms. On the one hand, there is the FLN, backed by most of the Moslems, and some defeated liberal Frenchmen who have found a common rallying ground in their misfortune and wretchedness. On the other hand, there is the European community, including almost all the non-Moslems and some Moslems – some sincere, others not. The latter group (the European community) has been transformed by the fact of coexistence with the 600,000 men of the French Expeditionary Force. This Army, which was at first hostile to the Europeans of Algeria, has been impressed by the devotion of even the most humble and most modest of the French in Algeria to their Algerian motherland. The Army finally ended by making common cause with the European community which it directs, administers, organizes, and by which it in turn has been profoundly marked and influenced. Aided by the war, an exasperated nationalism of which metropolitan France was quite unaware was born on the outskirts of the French nation. Suddenly the French of metropolitan France were confronted by another France beyond the Mediterranean – a dynamic, militaristic, revolutionary France; and the realization of the divorce was a shocking revelation. General de Gaulle himself did not expect such vigorous opposition.

The French Army in Algeria applied the tactics of revolutionary warfare which it learned through its defeat in Indo-China. Memories of this defeat still smart. Revolutionary warfare, accompanied by psychological action, has this special feature: it must of necessity find its outlet in the field of politics. To conquer, it is also necessary to convince. Arms as such are almost unimportant. Having convinced the enemy, there is a temptation to want to convince one's fellow citizens. This is what the Army has tried to do in its relations with metropolitan France.

For the time being, therefore, there is but a single conflict: this is between de Gaulle and that part of the Army which is most active, most politically minded, most dangerous. Everything will depend on the President of the Republic, on how skillfully he maneuvers, on his firmness in refusing to yield, and finally and above all, on his decision to make an appeal to the resistance of the whole French nation. At the time of this writing, the situation seems on the way to a decision; the insurgents have left their barricades in Algiers. But if de Gaulle is to fulfill his mission, he will need all possible support, all possible cooperation.

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What Needs To Be Done?

The Employment Act of 1946 set up two pieces of reporting machinery: the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress. The former is required to prepare an annual report which the President transmits to Congress together with his Economic Message. The latter receives and reviews the message, and makes its own findings. This year, the majority report of the Congressional Joint Committee and the President's message provide an exceptionally clear contrast between an economic philosophy that regards government policy as an important and desirable component in social change, and one that regards social change as chiefly a summation of a multitude of private decisions. The following paragraphs taken from each compare the urgency expressed in the two reports about situations which both concur in rating as important: rates of national economic growth, monetary and fiscal policy and education.

Economic Growth

THE PRESIDENT – Since the vast majority of economic decisions in a free society are made by private individuals and groups, the rate at which national output grows and the character of that output are determined chiefly by private attitudes and actions. The expenditures of consumers command about two-thirds of the nation's total product, and private investment expenditures command another one-eighth, or more. Individuals and business concerns supply the bulk of the nation's savings, and the major responsibility for directing these savings into private and public investment rests with private institutions. . . . In their key role as consumers, individuals can contribute to the nation's economic strength by spending wisely, just as government, acting as their agent, can promote growth by prudence in its spending. By the use to which they put their income they determine in large measure how economic resources are allocated. . . . The public use of funds, whether to continue established programs or to initiate new ones, must be justified on the ground that it makes a larger contribution to well-being and economic strength than could be made by their private use. . . . It must always be borne in mind . . . that we grow only by investing more and producing more, not simply by spending more.

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE – *If we pursue policies which will foster growth, the economy could grow at a rate of approximately 4.5 percent a year over the next 15 years. This is in sharp contrast to the rate of 2.5 percent over the last 6 years. These are amounts large enough to spell the differences between a rapid or slow increase in our standards of living and between meeting our public responsibilities at home and abroad fully or stintingly. . . .*

In fact, if we grow at 4.5 percent per year between now and 1975 instead of at a rate of 2.5 percent, the gross national product in 1975 would be $971 billion or $258 billion greater than it would be at a 2.5 percent growth rate.

Financial Policy

THE PRESIDENT – In the economic circumstances now prevailing and expected in the near future, a budgetary surplus used to retire debt would be a powerful aid in helping to restrain inflationary pressures and to promote sound growth. The added savings which it would supply to the economy would keep interest rates lower than otherwise, and facilitate private investment activity and the financing of public projects by state and local governments. . . .

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JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE – *In general, the policies which would reduce instability, make our labor force more productive at full employment levels, increase our capital and use it more fully, and maintain our scientific advance, include:*
(1) Monetary and fiscal policies that permit money demand to grow in line with supply. . . .
(2) Greater reliance on fiscal policy so that monetary policy will not have to carry so much of the burden to achieve any desired restraint on the total money demand. This means that we should aim for higher budget surpluses during periods of prosperity and a lower level of interest rates than have been achieved in recent years.

Education

THE PRESIDENT – Since unemployment is typically highest among those persons with inadequate training in the skills demanded by a dynamic industrial economy, better schooling and improved counseling services are clearly desirable . . . In the decade we have just entered, a new factor – the expected sharp increase in the labor force – will require, and will help to achieve, more rapid economic growth. Over the past decade, our labor force increased at an average rate of 825,000 a year . . . . Projections suggest something close to a doubling of this annual increment . . . by the end of the 1960's. The rapid expansion of our manpower will offer a unique opportunity for increasing our rate of output. By the same token, our economy will have to supply additional employment openings, by the end of the decade, at a rate twice that required in the 1950's . . . . It will also require greater effort, primarily by local and state governments and private groups, in education and training.

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE – *Of [our] recommendations, federal aid to education is the most important for raising the long-term rate of growth. This should be done without federal control over the content of what is taught, the salaries or promotion of teachers, tenure, discipline or any other feature which historically has been controlled by the local authorities. Historically, increases in productivity account for two-thirds of our total increase in output, with only one-third due to increases in the sheer amounts of labor and capital. The rise in productivity must be traced back to the improving skills of the labor force, to improvements in technology and to better organization of production. Education plays a crucial role in each of these fields . . . With the rising demands for skill and training from an ever more complex technology, we must strengthen our weaker school systems, and make sure that all of our people have the opportunity and the encouragement to develop their talents fully. Federal aid to education is a necessary step to accomplish this aim.*

"In times of crisis, the newspapers are first with the cry: 'Let the people know the facts!' But perhaps Fact is a deity invoked by the people only in the last emergency when the easy gods of peace have failed them."

- Dorothy L. Sayers, 1941

"That Gives Us A Surplus of Four Tires, Right There. And If We Take Out The Engine –"

"I don't take it very kindly that the implied accusation that I am dealing with the whole matter of defense on a partisan basis. First of all, I don't have to be partisan, and I want to tell you this: I've spent my whole life in this, and I know more about it than almost anybody I think that is in the country . . ."
– President Eisenhower, Jan. 14, 1960.

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"Soviet Russia, which 10 years ago seemed as unlikely a challenger to our leadership as Communist China may seem today, almost overnight developed into a major threat, not only to our over-all supremacy but to our very survival. . . . With only some 300 ballistic missiles, the Soviets could virtually wipe out our entire nuclear strike capacity within a span of 30 minutes." *– Gen. Thomas S. Power, commander, Strategic Air Command, Jan. 19, 1960.*

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"Distributors, dealers and individual skippers shelled out an estimated $32 million during the 12-day run of the National Motor Boat Show which weighed anchor in New York City Sunday night." (Under a headline: $3 Billion Volume in 1960 Predicted.) *– Washington Post, Jan. 26, 1960.*

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An Outburst of Servility

Perhaps all right-thinking and forward-looking persons were shocked by news of the formation of an American student group dedicated not to the abolition, but the retention of the automatic perjury provision in the student "loyalty" oath. But a superficial observer, perversely addicted to taking note of the obvious, is not shocked. It is simply additional evidence that American liberal arts colleges, as distinguished from technical and professional schools, are carrying a 35 percent overload of the ineducable.

For if there is anything whatever to be learned in a liberal arts college, that item is knowledge of how to be free. Not everybody can acquire it, and those who cannot are wasting their time and money when they try. This is not an assertion that they are necessarily dimwitted, but simply that their talents do not lie in that field. Some men of brilliant intellectual attainments have been incapable of learning more than the bare rudiments of mathematics; William Shakespeare, we are told, had "little Latin and less Greek"; and Prince Henry the Navigator presumably was never out of sight of land.

If genuine belief is acceptance by the mind of what that particular mind finds it impossible to reject, then it is to a very large extent involuntary. Thus when a man swears that he will believe this and will not believe that, he swears to control what he cannot control and is perjured on the spot. That is wholly separate and distinct from loyalty. A man can be loyal to that in which he does not believe, and can therefore take a loyalty oath without self-stultification; but if he swears to what he is going to believe in the future, he is a liar from the start.

This, not the loyalty clause, is the poison in the student oath, but there are undoubtedly many college students who can't see anything wrong in it. They do not understand the nature of freedom, and are perhaps incapable of understanding that freedom of locomotion, association and occupation are outgrowths of intellectual freedom. It has always been so. John Adams said that in 1776 not more than one-third of the American people really desired political freedom. Another third simply went along without caring deeply, one way or the other, while the remaining third were for the king.

It would seem, then, that there is nothing particularly shocking in the fact that some students do not object to intellectual bondage of a kind that they do not think will interfere with their own activities. The burden of proof really is on the free spirits. Why should, say, a nuclear physicist be free? He can pursue his studies as effectively by permission as by right. The Russians are demonstrating that every day. Why should a banker or an industrialist contend for the right to defend the doctrine of the effective intercession of the saints, or the tradition that a horsehair put into water will turn into a snake, or the idea that Eisenhower is a great President?

The answer, of course, is that there is no real freedom except where the mind is free, but how can that answer be communicated to men who have no conception of intellectual freedom? To discover or invent a method is the reason for being of the liberal arts college, and if it fails in that it is a total failure, no matter how many men it turns out who can read Hittite, or turn water into wine, or make millions selling goof-balls to morons.

But the college is doomed to failure just to the extent that it is crowded with students whose minds are incapable of receiving the communication. That, however, is no sufficient reason for despair. It is not necessary for the whole population to possess the capacity to be free. If we are to believe Adams, one-third of all the people are enough; for since one-third knew how to be free in 1776, all the rest attained freedom. The reasonable inference is that if one-third retain that capacity today, all will remain free.

To date, 20-odd American liberal arts colleges have refused money rather than swallow that poison. When you remember that state-controlled schools have no choice, and strictly technical, professional and vocational schools have little or no interest in the matter, the proportion is not bad. The *World Almanac* lists 155 American and Canadian educational institutions with more than $5 million endowment. Eliminate the Canadians, the state schools, and the techs and you will have left well under 100 colleges not constrained by either law or poverty; so perhaps a fourth have in this case put freedom ahead of profit. Add the strong, although suppressed, opposition to the oath in the institutions that cannot repudiate it, and it becomes easy to believe that one-third of American higher education retains the psychological ability to be free.

So the current outburst of clamorous servility among students is less than catastrophic.

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THE NEXT TIME YOU FLY

The Champagne Flight

by Alan Levy

My wife and I recently were ticketed on a domestic air flight that was timetabled "SDc." I researched – merely to reconfirm the referencing – and thus learned that we would be plied with champagne and "steak dinner cooked to order" during our three-hour journey.

In every respect, the champagne flight lived up to its advance billing; it even surpassed our expectations by being an hour late. But everything had been arranged to expedite time while man flies. At 17,000 feet, three hostesses cruised before our eyes in a sea of bubbles and bottles. My wife and I were resting after our third glass of Dry Monopole and our last slice of steak, medium rare, when one of our wing-capped attendants leaned over maternally and asked, "Will you coffee with us now – or when dessert comes?"

My wife prefers to "coffee later," so she replied timidly, "Could we possibly have some more champagne now?" The stewardess fetched the familiar bottle.

She refilled our glasses, waited until Bubble Fallout had diminished, and then poured on to the top. We drank a lofty toast to her perfect health and she responded with an excellent in-flight suggestion: "Since you like it so much, why don't I just fill up your coffee cups with champagne and save myself a trip?"

Before we could answer, she did so. While waiting out the bubbles, I observed, "If you really want to expedite, why don't you just leave the bottle here with us?"

The passenger's jest was her command. I became the possessor of a quarter-full bottle of imported champagne that lasted almost until the engines had come to a complete halt at the terminal building. Even after black coffee at the airport, my wife and I nearly had a fist-fight with a total stranger simply because we claimed *his* luggage.

Ever since that trip, I have been particularly conscious of the new approach angle taken by domestic airlines in their advertising campaigns: If you can't jet the passenger where he's going, then wine him and dine him there. Destination is secondary, speed obsolete, on the old piston trail. One airline's promotion features a pastry-faced chef five times the size of the only airplane in the same ad: "For that rare adventure in elegant dining between New York and Texas, do as other gourmets . . . travel Braniff's 'Silver Service' flights. Enjoy the fastidious food service praised by so many." Nowhere does the ad's mustachioed Oscar of the Convair so much as hint at the flying time; to inquire, I gather, would be as gauche as Greyhound.

Any morning now, I expect to pick up my newspaper and find an ad proclaiming: "Braniff Tastes Good Like A Plane Ride Should." Over my wife's poached-to-order eggs, I can already feast my eyes on the airlines' plate-by-plate descriptions of their Red Carpet, Royal Service, Sky Chief, Golden Banner and Five Star transcontinental eating bouts.

Time: *Immediate future.*

Scene: *The Airlines Terminal Building, across the street from Grand Central, which has been taken over by Arthur Maisel and converted into a restaurant serving airline food to people who are afraid to fly.*

Enter, *gliding up an escalator, John Q. Public, who will henceforth be referred to by his middle initial. Q's reverse thrust and landing roll bring him to the counter of Anonymous Airlines, whose representative will be identified as A.*

Q: I would like to fly to Louisville, Kentucky.
A: On our Hunt Breakfast, Ambassador's Luncheon or Testimonial Dinner flight, sir?
Q: Well, are they all . . .
A: Rest assured, sir, you will be served complimentary champagne aloft on all of them. And, even if you take Anonymous' famous Hunt Breakfast flight, have *no* qualms about asking for seconds on champagne. Our seven attractive hostesses all have one instruction: "Pop The Cork Before He Pops The Question." You leave at 7 a.m. and, 10 minutes later – while you're loosening your seat belt for the gastronomic turbulence ahead – you will be handed your champagne and choice of cereals.
Q: That wasn't the question I wanted to ask: Are they all equally fast?
A: Oh, yes, sir. Our food service is indeed prompt, but never hurried. To facilitate service, only Anonymous provides one-abreast seating that allows a four-lane center aisle for the fast-moving carts of exquisite food. Above the seats, we have replaced the over-water life jackets with in-flight ice buckets.

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Q: What I want to know is: How long does it take to fly Anonymous from New York to Louisville?
A: Let me check the menu, sir. Well, on our Testimonial Dinner flight, for example, you are served your zabaglione 7 hours and 51 minutes after leaving LaGuardia; and you get your after-dinner mint and Drambuie 13 minutes later, just before you touch down in Louisville.
Q: Eight hours for a non-stop flight to Louisville?
A: Oh, it's no longer non-stop, sir. Because your meal is cooked to individual order, we stop in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Charleston, Ashland and Lexington on our deluxe flights to Louisville. At each airport, a different course is freshly prepared and whisked aboard. Your soft-shelled crab sauté amandine, for instance, is prepared in our special kitchen at Baltimore's Friendship Airport. When you dip your fork into it, you'll know exactly why we boast: "The Crab You're Eating Tonight Did Not Come On A Connecting Flight."
Q: I don't mean to be a cold potato, but do you have a flight that would get me to Louisville in a lot less than 8 hours?
A: Yes, sir, if you're not traveling with your family. You may have read in *Playboy* about our Stag Smoker flight – for men only. When you board, you're given bedroom slippers, a bathrobe, a bib, chewing tobacco, cigars, a pipe rack, a spittoon, a gift subscription to *Cavalier*, and a hearty steak dinner. Our personable hostesses are all carefully selected divorcees with previous experience as prison matrons.
Q: Please, how much time does it take?
A: I was coming to that, sir. Since we don't want to expose you to the feminine frills of big airports, we bypass Washington, Baltimore and the other places. We do our cooking in-flight on the Stag. To provide ample galley facilities for our Flight Chef (he used to be Admiral Rickover's mess steward), we've ripped out our entire forward seating area. Everything is fresh: steaks charbroiled just the way you like 'em; apple pie baked at 15,000 feet; your choice of drinks-on-the-rocks or beer. As soon as you're off the runway, the pilot gets on the speaker system and welcomes you aboard with a joke about King Farouk and Grace Kelly in a lifeboat. Everything is done to make you relax. In between numbers, the pilot explains that the sparks you see on both sides of the plane come from our Flight Chef's Hotskool Barbecue Steak Pit, not from engine difficulties.
Q: Then if you cook in the air, this must be non-stop.
A: Almost, sir. We do make just one stop en route. This month, it's in – let me verify – yes; it's in Clay County, in Eastern Kentucky.
Q: To refuel the plane?
A: No, sir, to refuel the passengers. This is one of the highlights of our Stag Smoker flight; a feature no other airline offers you. In Clay County this month is our own portable Jetstream still, producing – exclusively for Stag Smoker passengers – our famous Anonymous White Lightning, a mountain muscatel that cannot be bought in stores. To insure our product's exclusiveness, the still's location is Subject To Change Without Notice.
Q: How long a stopover do you make there?
A: Four hours, sir, that pass like four minutes. That makes your total flight time to Louisville 6 hours and 45 minutes, although I might add, strictly man-to-man, that our Stag Smoker flights tend to run slightly late.
Q: I'll take it anyway. Can you confirm space on the twenty-third?
A: I'll try. On the twenty-third? I'm sorry, sir, that's a Friday.
Q: I know. Are you full up on your Friday flights?
A: Sir, our Stag Smoker doesn't operate on Fridays. Since we feature a steak dinner on the flight and some people, on Fridays, well . . .
Q: I hadn't thought about that. Look, do you have maybe an air coach flight – with no food and no stops between here and Louisville?
A: Oh, I didn't know you were interested in our thrift services. Yes, we operate, between here and Louisville, let me make sure, our Midnight Snack Club Coach. On a Midnight Snacker, all you get is the old pre-cooked, pre-Jet Age meal on a tray: some plain Vichysoisse Lindbergh; Roast Beef Marco Polo; Broccoli à la Vespucci, and Cap'n Eddie's home-style cheesecake. Since the flight only takes three hours, it's enough to tide you over until you get home.
Q: Can you book me on that flight for midnight on the twenty-third; I guess that would be the morning of the twenty-fourth?
A: Let me call . . . Hello, ticketing four-oh-five on the two-four to Louisville, party of one traveling à la carte? Yes, I'll wait . . . Oh, too bad. I have a gourmet here who's willing to Midnight Snack it with us. . . . What? Yes, try five-oh-seven. I'll wait. . . . Yes, good, I'll tell him. Sir, the best I could do on our Midnight Snack flight to Louisville is wait-list you for a stool in the bar, but I've been able to confirm dining space on our flight five-oh-seven, which leaves at the same time.
Q: What time does that get to Louisville?
A: It doesn't go to Louisville. It's a non-stop Midnight Snack flight to Billings, Montana, but the menu is identical.

Flashing back to the immediate past, I had to travel from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to McAlester, Oklahoma, the other day. I found myself strapped into a non-stop DC-3. The plane was jockeying for position on the Fort Smith runway when its sole stewardess came climbing up the center aisle and I asked her for some gum.

Her reply was nostalgically reassuring: "I'm sorry, sir, we don't serve food on these commuter runs."

Alan Levy, *author of a forthcoming book,* Operation Elvis, *is a reporter for the* Louisville Courier-Journal.

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THE HABIT OF POWER

There are strong reasons why one might suppose Chiang Kai-shek would abide by the Constitutional limitation on tenure when his second term as President of the Nationalist regime on Formosa expires in May – the public relations impact abroad, his own past support of the two-term limitation, and certain of his own recent statements. But he is "surrounded – captured is perhaps a more accurate word – by a host of relatives and personal followers" who stand to lose should either Chiang's son or the Kuomintang veteran Ch'en Ch'eng succeed to the leadership in his place and who will use every means at their disposal to have Chiang continue to serve as president.

Will Chiang Step Down?

by John T. T. Ma

Within the next few weeks, time and circumstance will bring about within the Republic of China a singularly important development. The Constitution of the Republic of China limits the President's tenure of office to two successive terms and President Chiang Kai-shek's second term expires May 20, 1960. Late in 1958 (December 23), President Chiang announced to the Mainland Recovery Planning Board his opposition to all proposals by the National Assembly for amending the Constitution. The statement, made in Chiang's dual capacity as chief of state and chairman of the Kuomintang, came in the wake of Mao Tse-tung's announcement that he would not again be a candidate for Communist China's highest governmental position. Chiang's announcement has attracted widespread attention and has been interpreted as a firm pledge that he will voluntarily give up his position as head of the Chinese Republic in 1960. There is good reason to believe, however, that Chiang's course of action may not fulfill these expectations.

The question of Chiang's future, whether he will part with the office of president, cannot be analyzed realistically without considering the question of possible successors. There are, to be sure, several possibilities, but given the present state of politics on Formosa only two likely candidates: President Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, and the present vice president of the Chinese Republic, Ch'en Ch'eng.

Assuming that Chiang does intend to relinquish the presidency, it seems clear that his personal choice of a successor would be his son, who is already the controlling power in Formosan affairs, next to Chiang himself. And it is a public secret that in recent years President Chiang has had all important questions of policy referred *first* to his son, before being brought to himself. There is, thus, strong reason to believe that Chiang would personally place his son first on any list of possible successors to the presidency. Such a preference would fit in well with both Chinese tradition and the Chinese concept of family.

There are, however, strong factors working against such a choice by Chiang. Not only the native Formosans, but also the Chinese who have come to Formosa from the mainland since World War II would find the son unacceptable as Chiang's successor. This political opposition is considerably strengthened by similar sentiments within Chinese military circles. As for the Kuomintang itself, the prospect of the son's succession would be met with unmitigated hostility by the party's Elder Statesmen, those party members who have been Chiang's co-workers throughout the Kuomintang's history, not to mention the rank and file.

The widespread opposition to the prospect of the son's succession arises largely from uncertainty and suspicion regarding his intentions *vis à vis* the Chinese Communists. For more than a decade prior to 1938 the son received a typical and thorough education while living in the Communist motherland, the USSR. While there, he married a Russian and, of far greater significance, he wrote public letters condemning his father and the Kuomingtang. Furthermore, since his return to China in 1938, the son has never publicly denied sympathy or affiliation with the Communists nor has he ever publicly taken back a single word of the criticism and censure he had previously directed at his father and the Kuomintang.

Ch'en Ch'eng, the other most likely successor to Chiang, is now vice president of the Chinese Republic, vice chairman of the Kuomintang, and head of the Executive Yuan. He has worked closely with Chiang for more than 30 years and has been entrusted with many top-level posts, both political and military. The place he occupies in Chiang's confidence and esteem was demon-

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strated in the winter of 1949 when he was appointed military and political commander of Southwest China, in effect, the only part of the mainland then under Nationalist control. Perhaps even more significant, it was Ch'en Ch'eng who, during this same period, was assigned the task of preparing the way for Chiang's flight from the mainland to Formosa.

If Chiang's personal preference were to be the controlling factor in selecting a successor, there is little doubt the mantle would fall to the son. If other factors are taken into account, however, Ch'en Ch'eng's chances of succession are far greater. He commands the respect of the Kuomintang Elder Statesmen with whom he has had intimate relations for some four decades, and they would undoubtedly support him as against the son. Similarly, if other political parties and independents, and especially the military circles, were faced with a choice between the two, they would also without hesitation favor Ch'en Ch'eng.

Should Chiang renounce the presidency, therefore, the relevant question would be how he could satisfy a personal desire to bequeath power to his son, and at the same time take into account the general and deep-seated hostility which the son's succession would arouse. It would be possible, although extremely unlikely, for Chiang to ignore everything other than his personal feelings and arrange directly for the son's succession. He would be more likely to seek his goal in a roundabout manner. He could arrange to have Ch'en Ch'eng move up to the presidency and thus nominally become his successor while seeing to it that Ch'en Ch'eng himself arranged for the son's election to the vice presidency and his appointment to other high posts. Since Ch'en Ch'eng is over 65 and in extremely poor health, he would not be able actively to bear the load of the presidency and in all likelihood would soon be forced to retire from the political scene, opening the way for the son's assumption of the presidency. Even while Ch'en Ch'eng remained on the stage, Chiang could so arrange it that the real source of power would be in the son's hands: his appointment as Head of the Executive Yuan, as Minister of Defense, and as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff would serve this purpose. In short, he would pursue a course which would pass the title of succession to Ch'en Ch'eng but the main substance of succession to his son.

Even in this event, it is highly unlikely that Chiang himself could be satisfied with merely memories of bygone authority. This would be in keeping with neither Chinese political tradition nor Chiang's personal history. In any country where political life is dominated, if not exclusively controlled by a single political party, power within the party carries with it *ipso facto* power within the government. Once before, Chiang gave up the presidency for a short time – from January, 1949, to March, 1950 – but managed to exercise a controlling voice in governmental affairs by retaining his position as chairman of the Kuomintang. If Chiang does relinquish the presidency he would in all probability choose to follow this precedent again.

Obviously, more significant than the question of possible successors are Chiang's real plans regarding the presidency: was Chiang's announcement of December 23, 1958, really evidence of his intention to renounce the presidency in 1960?

The Arguments For Retirement

It can be argued with considerable conviction that Chiang genuinely desires to step down from the presidency. For one thing, such a step holds the promise of certain gains for the Nationalist reputation abroad. It could be pointed to as evidence of Free China's devotion to the rule of law and other bases of Western democracy, and could not but attract favorable comment from abroad, the United States in particular. The history of the constitution also offers reason to believe that Chiang never intended to serve more than two terms as president. When the present constitution was being drawn up in the spring of 1947, the draft agreed upon by the Kuomintang, the Young China Party and the Social Democrats contained a provision calling for a four-year term for the president, with a limit of two terms. Interestingly enough at no time did Chiang disagree with the two-term limitation. He did, however, take issue with the suggested four-year term, urging instead a six-year term. His viewpoint prevailed and was responsible for the present constitutional provision limiting a president to two terms of six years each. It would seem, therefore, that 12 years ago at least Chiang was not planning more than two presidential terms for himself.

Another strong indication to the same effect came late in 1948, six months after Chiang had become president under the new constitution, at a time when all China was rapidly falling under Communist control and only shortly before Chiang's resignation from the presidency. Just at this moment Chiang told a highly secret meeting of the Kuomintang that if Heaven would only allow him to live another 10 years he would destroy Communism in China. Thus, at a time which by any standard must be considered one of the most critical in his career, Chiang was not thinking of continuing in office beyond the limit set down in the constitution.

Even if one assumes that Chiang did then and does now genuinely desire to abide by the two-term limitation

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John T. T. Ma *was editor and publisher of* I Shih Pao (Social Welfare Daily) *in Chungking until the new Communist regime took over the paper's facilities in 1949 for the official organ* Jen Mih Jih Pao (Peoples Daily). *He is now on the staff of the Foreign Service Institute in Washington.*

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on the presidency, all indications are that he will not be able to do so when the time comes. For one thing, voluntary relinquishment of personal power runs contrary to the Chinese political tradition. The exercise of political power in China can perhaps best be compared to the smoking of opium: it is not only satisfying, but also extremely hard to renounce. Even when there is an intellectual conviction that it should be renounced, more often than not the pleasure and strength of habit prove too great to resist. (In this connection, it might be interesting to note that for many Chinese the least comprehensible incidents in US history are Washington's voluntary renunciation of the presidency after two terms, and his refusal to lend even an iota of support to suggestions that he head an American monarchist movement. The incidents are incomprehensible precisely because they are completely alien to Chinese political history and tradition.)

Even were Chiang strong-willed enough to break the "opium" habit, he will be pressured not to renounce the presidency. Chiang is surrounded – captured is perhaps a more accurate word – by a host of relatives and personal followers, both on Formosa and abroad, whose only claim to the lucrative positions of power they hold is their personal relation to Chiang. This group is not only reactionary in its thinking, but is composed of men and women of at best mediocre talents whose sole interest is in position and the money it entails. They know full well that their very survival depends upon Chiang's continuation in office, that their services would be quickly dispensed with were either Chiang's son or Ch'en Ch'eng to take his place. They are determined, therefore, to use every means at their disposal to have Chiang continue.

Having It Both Ways

It seems certain that the habit of political power coupled with the pressure of this group will prove irresistible to Chiang, that he will, when the time comes, refuse to vacate the presidency. Such a decision would on the surface seem irreconcilable with Chiang's recent announcement disclaiming any intention to revise the constitution. But there is a way the two can be reconciled: under the constitution, the president is chosen by the National Assembly, a body of delegates elected to represent constituencies and special groups on the Chinese mainland. Not unnaturally, under the conditions ruling in China, there has been only one National Assembly elected to date, the one which chose Chiang as president in 1948. In 1954, at the end of Chiang's first term, the same National Assembly reconvened and re-elected Chiang. The Assembly had no mandate to take such action; indeed, according to the constitution, delegates to the Assembly are to be elected every six years. It acted, however, arguing that since the election of a new Assembly, as required by the constitution, was impossible, the old Assembly would simply have to continue to function.

When Chiang's present term expires on May 20, such a precedent would seem ideally suited to his purposes. He can argue that since a new National Assembly cannot be elected in the manner specified in the constitution, there is no constitutional means to choose a new president; and if a new president cannot be chosen, obviously the old president must continue to serve. Even if Chiang does not decide to deny openly the present National Assembly's right to choose a president, there is a second variation on the same theme open to him: he can point out that less than one-half the membership of the National Assembly is on Formosa and claim, therefore, that the present Assembly is not properly constituted to perform its functions. Whichever ground Chiang may pick to challenge the Assembly's authority to choose his successor, Chiang must act before May because, under the terms of the constitution, the National Assembly must be called into session 90 days prior to the expiration of the president's term, that is, by February 19, 1960.

The constitutional propriety of denying the National Assembly's right to choose a new president would, of course, be open to serious question. The Chinese government on Formosa, however, is not renowned for its adherence to the constitution. The ill-concealed control of the Chinese armed forces by a political party, the Kuomintang, has been in direct conflict with the letter of the constitution; and the Kuomintang's persistent use of government money for party purposes is, similarly, contrary to the spirit if not the letter of the constitution.

It would be difficult for the National Assembly to denounce Chiang's reasoning, for almost identical logic has been used to justify its own continued existence. Indeed, the same argument has been used by two other organs of the Formosa government, the Legislative and Control Yuans. In both cases members have continued to serve long beyond the terms set down in the constitution, arguing that old members must continue in office as long as conditions make it impossible to elect new members in accordance with the constitution.

Such logic and precedents will serve admirably to reconcile Chiang's announced intention to oppose any revision of the constitution with a decision that he cannot but continue as president.

There is no denying that Chiang's continuance in office under such tactics would only put off a problem which must eventually be faced, and there is no doubt that such toying with the constitution will seriously weaken it as a central symbol of the government to which many Chinese cling as an alternative to the Communist regime. Pitted against these arguments in the presently developing situation, however, are the weightier factors of political traditions and personal power.

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Ezra Pound and History

by Delmore Schwartz

As one reads these thirteen new cantos of Ezra Pound's long poem and then rereads the ninety-five which have preceded it, one's first strong impression is that little change or genuine development of these and attitude have occurred throughout the entire work. Through the years Pound has remembered a great deal, but he has learned nothing – nothing that could be called a new insight into the attitudes with which he began to write. Thus Canto 100 begins with

Thrones de los Cantares
(Cantos 96-109)
by Ezra Pound
(New Directions; $3.50)

"Has packed the Supreme Court
so they declare anything he does
constitutional."
– *Senator Wheeler, 1936*

Here, in this denunciatory reference to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, as elsewhere in these cantos, it is clear that Pound's view of the New Deal and the Second World War have not been altered since the lamentable attempt to pack the Supreme Court. And this is but one instance of the fact that Pound has not reviewed, in the light of recent experience and recent knowledge, his attitude toward the Second World War: he has not asked himself what would have happened to Western civilization, America, modern literature and his own poetry, if Germany had won the Second World War. And yet Pound must know – in some sense – that to the Nazis his own kind of work and the creative work he admired and helped to bring into being was regarded as an intolerable and barbaric manifestation of *Kulturbolscheivismus* and decadent cosmopolitanism.

Since the Cantos as a whole aspire to be a kind of philosophy of history, it is necessary to point out how, despite their frequent passages of great beauty, learning, metrical invention and prophetic significance, they are often no more than Pound's discursive monologue about his own *personal* experience of history, particularly 20th Century history, and particularly in relation to his own understandable obsession with the relationship of the creative artist and the statesman. This is perhaps the chief reason that he writes so often about economics and politics.

As a poet whose theme is the nature of history, Pound is inadequate in two important ways: he has an intense tendency to overinterpret and overgeneralize experience from a purely personal point of view or from the point of view very often of the assumed supremacy of the creative artist (as if other human beings were not necessary to the existence of creativity); and this inadequacy is made worse, time and again, by Pound's undisciplined and very often uninformed abstractions.

Here is a somewhat elaborate example: if the Cantos had been concerned with the fall of the Roman Empire as they are concerned again and again with the rise and fall of other great civilizations, Pound clearly would have blamed the fall of Rome upon the weakness and stupidity of a Caesar, or the personal strength of a Barbarian general, or perhaps upon the rise of debt and usury in Rome and the corruption of the aristocracy. What actually happened to cause the fall of Rome, according to J. B. Bury, was something seemingly trivial and implausable: the extraordinary advent of historical *coincidence* or historical *luck*. For centuries, the Barbarians had attacked Rome in great strength: it was only when the unique moment of Barbarian attack and Roman weakness occurred *at the same time* that the huge event of Rome's fall occurred and a great civilization perished. It can be argued that sooner or later this unique historical coincidence was bound to occur unless a great and wise Caesar extirpated the deeply-rooted causes of Roman weakness, and thus that political leadership is very important. But nowhere in this long poem about the nature of history is a sustained effort made to rise to the level of generality necessary to the extreme ambition of the poem; nor is there very much evidence of the intellectual awareness necessary to deal with the questions Pound raises about the nature of history.

The new cantos have many interesting passages, some passages of unique lyrical beauty, and too many passages when inspiration and excited self-indulgence have been confused with one another.

Thus, at one point, in a passage dealing, I think, with the Byzantine Empire, Pound writes

Some sort of embargo, Theodora died
in the 19th Justinian.
And the money sellers Ablavius and
Marcellus
Thought they would just bump off
Justinian.
A flood of fads swelled over Europe.

But there could have been two Abduls
And it would not have annoyed one.
That is something to note. I mean as
personality, when one says "oriental." The third bahai
Said nothing remarkable. Edgar Wallace had his kind of modesty.

Here Edgar Wallace, a detective story writer once as well-known as Agatha Christie and Erle Stanley Gardner, suddenly emerges, and as suddenly departs from the 20th Century and appears in Byzantium as part of a discussion of the virtues and defects of an obscure historical regime's political luminaries. The relevance of a popular mystery story writer to a political discussion of a distant and for the most part very obscure historical period is, I think, tenuous but real. Edgar Wallace, of whose mystery fiction Pound avowed himself to be very fond in a book published more than twenty years ago, probably was *modest*, and it is probably true that Pound be-

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lieves in and likes modesty – in other human beings. But the entire passage which is fairly characteristic of Pound's political discourses in the cantos, is a good example of how easy it is to confuse inspiration and self-indulgence, and childishness.

The reference to Edgar Wallace's personal modesty in a passage dealing with Byzantine politicos is not bad in itself, but it is, in addition, quite self-indulgent and personal in the worst way. It does not matter that Pound takes a childish pride in being fond of Wallace and knowing him and bringing his character into an epic poem; and the passage is not bad because of the sudden transition to Wallace's modesty or because of the obscurity of Byzantine history. It is bad because some other and better embodiment or touchstone of modesty would have made the poetic point less tangential and lessened the strain upon the reader who not only has to find out or know who the third bahai and the two Abduls are, and in what way Edgar Wallace possessed the same kind of modesty as his predecessors. To be self-indulgent myself for a moment, I am willing to entertain the possibility that the third bahai was a really important personage, but I don't see what Wallace had to be modest *about*, although I am sure he did the best he could and received adequate compensation.

Nevertheless it must immediately be added that what is bad and self-indulgent in this passage is inseparable from Pound's poetic genius at its best: in other passages, the suddenness of transition and apparent randomness of historical juxtaposition and range are necessary to create the historical perspective of the cantos, the sense that all history is relevant to any moment of history, and the profound belief that the entire past, at any moment and in any place, is capable of illuminating the present and the whole nature of historical experience.

The prose of the book jacket of *Thrones de los Cantares* can serve as a summary of what is good and what is bad in this new section of the cantos. As a description of the new cantos, it is neither better nor worse than most book jacket prose. This is how the preceding section of the cantos, *Rock Drill,* is described:

> " 'The human soul is not love, but love flows from it . . . it cannot, ergo, delight in itself, but only in the love flowing from it'. This is the major theme as the Cantos move into their final phase: 'The domination of benevolence'. Now the great poem has progressed into the realms of the 'permanent'; the poet has passed through 'the casual' and 'the recurrent' and come to values that endure like the sea.
>
> "The *Cantos* are a poem containing history; it is their purpose to give the true meaning of history as one man has found it: in the annals of China, in the Italian Renaissance, in the letters and diaries of Jefferson, the Adamses and Van Buren, in the personalities and currents of his own time. The truth must be hammered home by reiteration, with the insistence of a rock drill 'Drilling it into their heads . . . much in the way that a composer does in music'."

As a description of Cantos 85-95 and the new Cantos this is not only adequate, it has a good deal of the obscurity of unavoidable truth and the immense confusion of reality. And it participates in the barbarous contempt for most human beings – unless they are creative artists or patrons of the arts – which recurs throughout Pound's great poem. For it should be clear, by inspection, that the domination of benevolence, is a bad and impractical description of both love and statesmanship. It was, I think, Tallyrand who said to Napoleon, pointlessly enough: "Sire, you cannot sit on bayonets." And it should not be necessary to say, at this late date, that power which is maintained through domination of any kind – benevolent paternalism, for example – is worthless because it is temporary and must be sustained by tyranny. It should be a truism by now that genuine power depends upon consent, just as genuine love requires requited love. Finally to say that the truth must be hammered home by reiteration, with the insistence of a rock drill is revealing in ways which the author of the jacket did not intend: revealing and novel. This must be the first time that the acetylene torch has been advocated as a method of teaching the truth to human beings or writing poetry. One might just as well try out the surgeon's scalpel, psychoacoustical bombing, brainwashing and all the other forms of psychological warfare. And to compare the insistence of a rock drill with the repetition of musical phrases is to reveal a complete ignorance of music and to show how metaphor may be a means of justifying anything, if one is also eager to deceive oneself. If the insistence of a rock drill and the repetition of musical phrases resembled each other in any whatever, the interest in good music, which is small enough as it is, would not exist at all.

I have dwelt at length on the book jacket for several reasons. One is that it is a good summary of Pound's intention and what is wrong with it. But there is a more important reason. In recent years, for extra-literary reasons of all sorts, Pound's work has been praised too often and for the wrong reasons, without qualification or reservation, by ardent admirers and friends, in such a way as to antagonize readers who are not very well acquainted with his work. Indeed, Pound has been praised by his friends – sometimes, perhaps, out of sympathy for his personal plight, rather than his poetry – in so lavish and uncritical a way as to have exactly the reverse of the effect which was intended. The mixed feelings of the reading public toward complicated new poetry are such that uncritical praise is at best merely bewildering. Indeed, the effort and ardor of most of Pound's friends is unfortunate enough to make one think, again: any human being who has friends of this kind has no need of enemies.

There is also an unfortunate and unnecessary antagonism to Pound's work which takes a variety of forms and which, whatever its form, is unjustified. Sometimes the antagonism is purely personal; sometimes the antagonism is political; sometimes it is literary; sometimes it is literary and asserts itself as political liberalism and sometimes it is political and literary; as in the critics who dislike modern poetry and Pound's kind of modern poetry and his political views which Pound makes explicit, from time to time in his poetry. The reference

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to Roosevelt and the New Deal which I have already quoted is but one of a good many in the present volume. Here is another explicit passage concerning Hitler:

Adolf furious from perception.
But there is a blindness comes from inside –
they try to explain themselves out of nullity.

This is enough to make the uninformed reader – or the reader who has been told that Pound is a Fascist and an Anti-Semite – dismiss Pound as a bad poet, or dismiss that which is valuable and beautiful in Pound's writing as trivial when the basic attitude of his work is anti-human. But here is another passage from an early Canto which should illustrate, among other things, the way in which Pound became a great poet:

The boughs are not more fresh
where the almond shoots
take their March green.
And that year I went up to Freiburg,
And Rennert had said: "Nobody, no, nobody
Knows anything about Provençal, or if there is anybody
It's old Levy."
And so I went up to Freiburg,
And the vacation was just beginning,
The students getting off for the summer,
Freiburg im Breisgau
And everything clean, seeming clean, after Italy.

There is a great deal more to be said about Pound's work and about the passages which disfigure it. For example there are several other passages – the description of a synagogue in Italy and its religious ceremonies and cantos which contain the passionate denunciations of modern war which show that if Pound is, at times, anti-Semitic, he is also, at other times, philo-Semitic; and if he is anti-human, it is, at least, in part, partly through a disappointed and embittered love of mankind. Certainly no one who was wholly misanthropic could be so avidly interested in what happens to human beings and to so many forms of human art and culture. But this is a complicated subject which cannot be discussed with brevity. The first and most important thing to say about Pound's Cantos is that they ought to be read again and again by anyone interested in any form of literature.

The Men Who Run Soviet Business

by Francis B. Randall

Among those who speculate about Russia's future, there are two major schools. There are those who hold that industrialization is the most overwhelming social change a country can undergo since the discovery of agriculture, and that Communist societies, no matter how bizarre the politics by which they were industrialized, will become more and more like the other industrialized societies of Europe and North America. And there are those who hold that that Communist Party-state machine and its ideology are so tight, so autonomous, and so self-maintaining, that any such drift to the West will be long deferred, or at least contained.

No decision is possible yet. But those who emphasize the importance of the industrial process in determining social change ought to look first of all for similarities between Russian and non-Communist industry. Russian and American turret lathes resemble each other more than do Khrushchev and Eisenhower, or Galina Ulanova and Marilyn Monroe. What about the men who operate the machines? And, most important of all, what about the men who run the industries?

The Red Executive
by David Granick
(Doubleday; $4.50)

David Granick, already known for his works on Russian businessmen, has now brought out the first good point-by-point comparison of the "Red executive" with the red-white-and-blue executive. He clearly has great personal knowledge of American business, but for statistics he relies on the works of others, books with magnificent titles like *White Collar Crime*. On the Russian side he has added his own findings, including interviews with Russian managers, teachers, and researchers. One virtue of this book is its supply of anecdotes – tips on how to horn your way into a Russian factory even if the director is busy, vignettes of Russian business students reciting pages of notes by rote on oral examinations, and how they can be flustered by asking them "thought questions."

Professor Granick plays down the importance of Communist ideology in Russian industry; when he discusses it, it is often in terms like "fancy-Dan Marxist gymnastics." Both Russians and Americans, he finds, share the belief that a man can rise to the top of the industrial ladder on his own merits. But in both countries a large proportion of the businessmen are sons of businessmen or other white collar people. This is true in Russia in spite of the Communist Party's open discrimination, both in education and in job assignments, in favor of the sons of workers and peasants. Russian managers, like American Jews, have usually triumphed over prejudice and secured the welfare of their sons.

In both countries, businessmen are increasingly apt to be college graduates. The Russians are now ahead of us in this, but we may catch up with and surpass them. Russian managers have not, of course, gone to Liberal Arts colleges, but are most likely to have had an engineer's training. When the Russian businessman arrives, he will make as much more money than his workers as his American counterpart does, and he will be at least *as* happy about his superiority. But the Russian businessman cannot spend his piles of money on the same things that Americans can. Foreign travel is usually out. There are no super-luxury cars. And Russian housing practices are such that he finds it as difficult to break out of his modest quarters into a lavish house as a well-to-do American Negro finds it for entirely different reasons.

The bulk of the book is taken up with the problems and behavior of business-

Notes on Contributors

Delmore Schwartz, *who was NR's poetry editor for several years, has recently been awarded the Bollingen Prize for his new book,* Summer Knowledge. Francis B. Randall *teaches at Columbia.*

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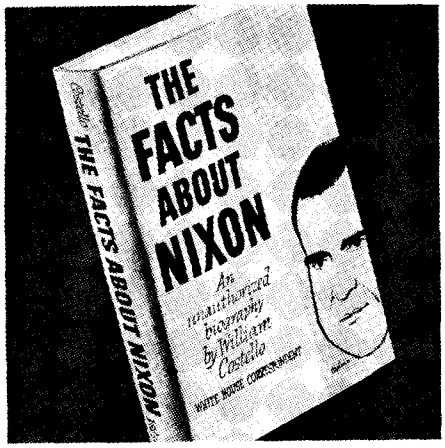
men at work. The Russian, totally unlike the American, never has to worry about the market for his goods; they will be snapped up by hungry people or the hungrier state. But both Russian and American, for example, face the same problems with economically and psychologically discontented foremen in the shop. Granick says that when he studies a strange society, he feels the difference first, and then the underlying similarities, and finally he sees the complex mixture of like and unlike. Written on the basis of such sentiments, the book can hardly fail to be excellent.

The final emphasis is on a crucial difference. American businessmen and the men in American governments, however much they seem to overlap in some unfortunate administrations, are to an observable degree separate – in background, in education, at work, and in style of life. Not so in Russia, according to Granick. A sociologist would be hard put to it to find systematic differences between Russian businessmen and Russian Party and government professionals. Their backgrounds scatter among the social classes in about the same proportion. They are similarly college-educated, and among bureaucrats and Party officials, too, there are many, many engineers. Elites in all groups are Party members. Standards of living and styles of life are the same. The proof is that so many successful Russians move back and forth from industrial to political hierarchies. Professor Granick's observations are strikingly illustrated by the career of Malenkov, the only "normal" Russian Communist ruler; sometimes he was an aircraft czar, sometimes a Party secretary, sometimes a Prime Minister. Now he is back running a power plant. And next?

If the political and economic elites in Russia are really, to such an extent, one social group, this indicates that resistance to pressure from other social groups will probably be very monolithic and very effective. But the question of social change arising from the industrial process and acting through this cohesive elite – that is left open.



A Service to Readers of THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Viking Press has just published William Costello's *The Facts About Nixon*, expanded from his articles which appeared in *The New Republic*. The 306-page book sells at retail for $3.95. However, it is available to *New Republic* readers at a 25 percent discount, or $2.95. You may place your order now. Simply mail the coupon below, with your payment, and your copies will be sent immediately. *The New Republic* will pay the postage.

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THE CAMPAIGN AND ITS LITERATURE

"Hark, from the Tomb..."

The Rev. Isaac Watts supplied the obvious commentary on a campaign biography of Nelson A. Rockefeller published at the end of January, 1960: "Hark! from the tomb a doleful sound." It is a pity, too, for James Poling's opus

The Rockefeller Record
edited by James Poling
(Crowell; $3.50)

is definitely a superior specimen. This is no goose-grease job. It is a thurification, admirably done – the censer swung with a delicate air, and the incense discreetly chosen. Mr. Poling will not even accept authorship; instead of "by" he puts "edited by" ahead of his name on the title page.

His method was to go through the public utterances of the subject and to present those passages which he considered as best portraying the kind of man that Rockefeller is. If they also present him in the best possible light, is that a crime? Furthermore, he is mercifully brief; the book runs less than 200 pages, and it offers Rockefeller's ideas only on those issues affected with a public interest.

But its sound is doleful for it shows that when Rockefeller withdrew the Republican party lost a first-rate candidate – basically, but not blindly conservative, and well aware that the 19th Century is gone forever. One of his remarks, made in May, 1957, has a grim timeliness today. Speaking of military defenses he said, "the lead in the technological race once lost is almost impossible to regain." We are now in process of finding out how true that is.

We are finding out that in other matters, too, Rockefeller talked more sense than most of us realized at the time. The one unrealistic note is his fixed conviction that the administration of Point Four might have been delegated in large part to private enterprise. Even he, is seems, is somewhat addicted to wishful thinking.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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ART

Levine, Dali and Guerreschi

In the recent report here on the Whitney Annual the not-unexpected conclusion was reached that, like the old wine, the old jokes and old Oliver Goldsmith, the old painters, after all, were still the best around. The meaning was not that ability comes from senility but only that those American painters who had perfected a style of their own before the paint hit the fan a dozen years ago are doing more assured and more effective work than the generally younger men who are trying to get the paint back in the tube and an image of some kind back in the paintings. Anyhow, chief among such older painters who were not in this year's Whitney was Jack Levine, forty-four if he's a day, and absent because he was having his own annual over at the Alan Gallery. Levine knows as much about the art of painting as any man alive and a lot more than most, with special reference to the full potential of oil paint as employed from Titian to Goya, Levine's paintings are never colored drawings and they are never the simple record of where the paint happened to land. They are ingeniously and honestly constructed, both in the pre-Titian sense of the "architecture" of a painting and in the later sense of a very complex physical surface, not made all at a blow but built up stage by stage. Glazes are employed, there are layers within layers, raw paint is used sparingly and only where it will do some good. In short, there is a total technical sophistication of a kind that hasn't been much practiced since before Impressionism. Obviously, if the paint worshippers of recent years had thought out the metaphysics of their own silly religion, Levine would be their man.

But it is a silly religion, paint worship, and so Levine's complete mastery is used not to display itself but to unite itself with a certain wry view of the world we live in and, by its own subtlety, to give that view a depth it can easily lack. At this show a number of the paintings were fragments from Levine's world, a cigarette girl and a fine new *Fêtes Galantes* with gypsy violins singing in vain to women of ice and men of tired flesh. There were quite a few nudes – they seem to come in bunches with Levine; "Adam and Eve," the "Three Graces" and the "Judgment of Paris" all play the basically German notion of the nude as a woman without any clothes on against the more buoyant idea of a woman who hasn't heard about clothes. This fruitful tension is transcended in "The Girls from Floogel Street," a full scale performance of a pair of dancers dressed only in mammary and public glitter. They are watched by a clown in baggy pants and the whole thing takes focus, aesthetically and intellectually, from a Shubert-pink baby spot high on the left.

Levine showed a small imaginary portrait of a "Senator" straining to hear that raises hope a full treatment of the Senate may be in the works. But the big Levine set piece of the show was "1932 (in memory of George Grosz)" a blood chilling, mock Wagnerian tableau of a jackel-like Hitler making obeisance and accepting power from the aging Odin, Hindenburg. The picture takes its place in Levine's life-long series on power. Some years back the series moved out of the precincts into the chancellories and its own power has been growing year by year.

Huntington Hartford, whose Gallery of Modern Art is about to be built on Columbus Circle, recently took delivery on a commissioned 14-foot painting by Salvador Dali, "Christopher Columbus Discovers America," destined for the Gallery and estimated and denied at $250,000. The other afternoon, some 750 of us leaders in communications, religion and the arts (as the program notes politely put it), walked carefully through about a mile of the fifth floor of French and Company's antique shop to view Mr. Hartford's picture and to drink Mr. Hartford's champagne.

The picture is the confirmation, if one is needed, that Dali, like Milton and Wordsworth and Belloc, is in the long line of good men ruined by religion. As an excommunicated Surrealist Dali painted some of the wittiest and some of the most honestly teasing pictures of the century. It's all gone. The natural gifts remain; so does the cultivated virtuosity. But the crosses and croziers bring out a high seriousness that can't compare with the low comedy.

Just a couple of blocks up the street from French's is the Feingarten Gallery where there are now on view about 20 paintings and some drawings by a young Italian, Giuseppe Guerreschi, whom I regard as one of the very few people of his generation who have found their way past the tachism, concretism or, in American, Abstract Expressionism of the recent past and into a way of painting that makes use of some of the technical discoveries of that recent painting for the human purpose of revealing the human condition.

Guerreschi is one of a group of young Milanese painters who show together and who, from their work, have pretty similar interests and attitudes but clearly distinguishable ways with paint.

Agony and despair are the general subjects for Guerreschi. These dictate his usual colors, stark black and white, gray and brown, to which on occasion the red of fire or blood is added. His surfaces are thick and heavily textured. Sometimes this gives the effect that the image is a shadow cast upon a crumbling wall. "Can of Meat" does this. The painting is five feet high and almost completely occupied by the shape of an empty G-ration can, with torn top and key. A few spatters on the dark surface suggests rust holes and sharply stenciled in red and black are the letters: RATION INDIVIDUAL COMBAT US ARMY. The effect is also achieved with a couple of "portraits," "Girl from Brera" and "Girl from Bruno." The hair and the profile seem a shadow cast on a wall; there's resentful life in the eye and in each case a floating tint is on both sides of the line of the face. "Pensione Garden Rose" is more smoothly textured but even more violent in impact. The great grey-white body of a whore crouches over a bed; her long greasy hair frames the face of a wounded animal and the eyes are those of a baffled woman. Except for stockings, her only garment is a frilly garter-belt in faded green, which provides the only roughly textured painting in the work. Guerreschi is strong stuff.

FRANK GETLEIN

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MOVIES

Is Artistic Integrity Enough?

The Story on Page One
(20th Century-Fox)

The Cranes Are Flying
(distributed by Warner Brothers)

Swan Lake
(distributed by Columbia)

In connection with the new film which he wrote and directed, Clifford Odets said in a recent interview: "There is no prostituting of talent in writing for movies, and anyone who says so is guilty of phony morality." I was happy to read this because it is absolutely true; there is not – necessarily – any prostitution in film-writing. Certainly prostitution occurs in film-writing, but so it does in Broadway plays and in books. It is specific to the instance, not inherent in the form.

Odets' new film, in terms of its script, lives up to its advance defense; it is not a prostituted work. But the author has stoutly defended the wrong portal, or not enough portals. The picture may be uncompromised but it is also undistinguished, pointless, and dull. And thus it raises a point.

Gifted men who go to Hollywood are chiefly concerned throughout their film careers, it would seem, with the matter of integrity. Movies are generally so conceived, gestated, and delivered in compromise that this could hardly be otherwise. But the struggle to remain chaste occupies so much of these men's thoughts that, even when they are winning it, they often lose judgment on what they are remaining uncompromised *about*. A screenwriter once asked my opinion of a gangster film of his, and when I suggested that it was competent but perhaps not quite sufficiently interesting, he protested that he had fought violently against any distortion of motivation and showed me marked copies of Freud and Brill from which he had derived behavioral patterns. In a climate steeped in fakery, it had seemed sufficient not to be fake.

But to us who are concerned only with what finally appears on the screen, negative virtues are not enough. We look for positive achievements, and of these *The Story on Page One* has virtually none. It is an utterly routine courtroom drama, devoid of rewarding characters and development, even of superficial plot twists and, what is most disheartening, with hardly a trace of the arresting pungency that has been a hallmark of Odets dialogue. The picture plods along until it is finished, at which moment we ask ourselves why Odets bothered to write and direct it. The only intrinsic lure for him could have been the contrast between the mothers of the two protagonists – the heroine's hard-working mother (movingly played by Katherine Squire) and the hero's silkily domineering rich mother (played with serpentine gentility by Mildred Dunnock). If so, it was a small and trite return on a large investment.

In the interview cited, when he was asked why he had directed the film himself, Odets replied: "Hollywood is short on directors who can handle actors in the sense of re-creating life or experience." He then presents in the leading role Miss Rita Hayworth, looking sad, looking dazed, looking tender, looking proud, looking happy – and all, by gad, at the appropriate moments. Opposite her Gig Young is clearly trying to act creatively from internal sources, but his talent still seems more comfortable in the role's few light passages. Anthony Franciosa, as a poor but clever lawyer, is an actor whose patent attempts to manufacture dynamic force verge on the ludicrous.

The theme of all this is meant to be regret and stubborn hope. American films certainly can use what Odets, at his best, can give them. The theater misses desperately the slash and thrust of his usually faulty but always exciting plays. "I'm 53 years old," he says, "a professional writer, and there's never been any loss or shrinkage of integrity." But there has, alas, been some shrinkage in intensity and relevance. What we badly need at this time is a 53-year-old edition of the Clifford Odets that was.

Under the official film exchange plan with the USSR, seven Soviet films are to be released here by American firms. The first two are *The Cranes Are Flying* and *Swan Lake*. The former is essentially a Joan Crawford tear-jerker about an attractive young wife beset by temptations while her husband is off at war. It is burdened with old-hat and extraneous cinematic devices and is notable only for that vitality which seems never to desert Russian acting.

Swan Lake is a record of a performance of the eponymous ballet at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow and, as a film, is poor indeed. The color photography is second-rate; the recording is tinny; we are subjected to many interruptive close-ups of performers' faces or of the audience, or shots from upstage looking out at dancers' backsides and gleaming spotlights. But if ballet moves you, the film is not to be missed; for in the leading roles Maya Plisetskaya is the music personified and Nicolai Fadeyechev displays that combination of poetry and masculinity which is almost the monopoly of Russian *danseurs*.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

A Primer on Inflation

Sirs:

The debt of appreciation that we owe Robert Lekachman for the remarkable span and quality of economic analysis that he has succeeded in stating without the usual professional jargon in his "A Primer on Inflation" (February 1), makes me reluctant to voice any criticism. But because a statement in his second paragraph leaves untouched a widespread confusion shared by many Americans (including, apparently, our President) it seems important to raise the point.

The question concerns the definition of "inflation." Mr. Lekachman states that inflation is ". . . a period in which prices continually rise. Prices, in general, rise

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when the total amount people want to spend on goods and services is larger than the sum of the price tags which sellers have placed on their merchandise and services." While this is technically an accurate statement, the latter part of it may be misleading. For it may be interpreted to be the definition which holds inflation to be the result of a *shortage of goods* in relation to the purchasing power buyers direct onto the market in seeking those goods. It is the definition that apparently led our President not long ago to counsel Americans to *buy less* in order to cope with inflation – at a time when unemployment was a major national problem.

There is no shortage of goods today, in any meaningful sense of "shortage." Nor are our high prices primarily a result of the pressure of the public's purchasing power against scarce resources or limited productive capacity in consumer goods industries. Rather, high prices in most industries (and particularly in manufacturing) are largely the result of "administered pricing policies" through which industries (and some unions) with substantial elements of monopoly power are able to push prices to successively higher levels. The only sense in which "shortage" can be meaningfully applied to such inflated prices is the artificially contrived shortage that monopoly power permits a seller to impose by holding back his goods and refusing to sell to buyers at the price which would obtain if his full stock or productive capacity were available to buyers. It is the power to choose deliberately reduced output and more unemployment in preferences to a price cut. This is not, of course, a new idea. It was recognized in the 1930's by such writers as Gardiner C. Means. It has been emphasized repeatedly in recent publications of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, and by such writers as Leon Keyserling. *The New Republic*, I believe, has carried a number of articles examining the problem.

But because a misconception of the cause can lead to the choice of the wrong remedy, it seems important to see the issue clearly whenever it arises. (And it *will* arise frequently between now and November!) For the danger is that we may come to accept the idea that we *cannot afford* adequate schools, good health, decent housing, expanded levels of research, improvement in helping people who have problems, and sharing our plenty with people less fortunate – cannot afford these because they are "inflationary." The danger is that we may come to accept as "natural" the anomalous view that we should all consume less in order to make our economy more prosperous, or indeed, to permit it to work at all.

Richard E. Jay
University of California
Berkeley, California

Stevenson and Bowles

Sirs:

Professor Allen's stimulating defense of Stevenson (January 18) reminds us of the compelling reasons we have fought for him through two campaigns, but leaves the main question of political realism unsolved. I am told the University of Michigan Research Center took a poll which determined that Stevenson cannot be elected because of his urbane manner, sparkling wit and ability to be exceptionally articulate. Despite our affection for Stevenson we simply have to recognize the fact that there is a personality conflict between Stevenson and a majority of the electorate.

Accordingly, your mention (January 11) of Chester Bowles as a likely standard bearer is exciting, because Bowles has the qualities we admire in Stevenson plus, I'm convinced, the all-important point that Bowles is much more likely to win the election.

Robert A. Rutland
Department of Journalism
University of California
Los Angeles, California

Sirs:

Apropos of your editorial "What About Bowles?": At a recent straw vote convention, held by the Evanston Democratic Club (an outgrowth of the 1952 Volunteers for Stevenson) to determine the 1960 Presidential preferences of members the surprise was the strength of Chester Bowles.

Nominated from the floor as a dark horse, write-in candidate, Bowles, while finishing a strong second to Stevenson, received more first place votes than Kennedy, Symington, Humphrey and Johnson combined.

Shel Newberger
Evanston, Ill.

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BARGAIN PARADISES OF THE WORLD

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WHERE DO YOU WANT TO GO?

FRANCE? WEST INDIES? BRAZIL? HAWAII? MEXICO?

Go by Freighter—the pleasant way to travel

When the travel editor of the Christian Science Monitor saw a copy of "Travel Routes Around the World," he wrote: Many fascinating travel booklets pass over this desk in the course of a year but the one that arrived the other day so interested this department that it cost the office several hours of work in order that we might absorb its contents. The booklet is entitled "Travel Routes Around the World" and is the traveler's directory to passenger-carrying freighters and liners. In no time at all you find yourself far out to sea cruising along under tropical skies without a care in the world. You find yourself docking at strange ports and taking land tours to those places you long have read about. Most interesting of the vast listings of ships are the freighters which carry a limited number of passengers in quarters comparable to the luxury offered in the so-called big cruise ships which devote most of their space to passengers.

The booklet first of all answers the question: What is a freighter? The modern freighter, says the booklet, ranks with the de-luxe passenger vessels so far as comfort and accommodations are concerned.

LARGE ROOMS WITH BEDS

It is important to realize that in most cases today, freighter passengers are considered first-class passengers, although the rates charged are generally on a par with either cabin or tourist-class fare. Most passenger-carrying freighters, to quote the booklet, have their private bath and shower, and these cabins offer beds, not bunks. The rooms are generally larger than equivalent accommodations aboard passenger ships, and the cabin of a modern freighter is sometimes even twice as large as first-class cabins on some of the older passenger ships. It goes without saying that your room is on the outside, and amidships, the most expensive of all locations, for which you are usually charged a premium over the advertised minimum fares on passenger ships.

This booklet points out that it is frequently astonishing how low freighter fares are as compared with passenger ship fares; for example, less than one-half of the passenger ship fare to California is the amount asked on freighters. On most of the longer runs, the difference in favor of the freighters is regularly from a third to half of the passenger ship fare.

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Foreign ships offer their own specialties, says the booklet. Thus vessels in the East Indian trade serve Rijkstafel, the East Indian dish which can run to as many as 50 different courses. Scandinavian ships serve Smorgasbord every day, and some of their desserts (like strawberries smothered in a huge bowl of whipped cream) are never forgotten. Another feature of freighter travel is in its informality. No formal clothes are needed. Sports clothes are enough.

Other valuable information such as how to tip, shipboard activities and costs are covered in the booklet, "Travel Routes Around the World." Some of the trips listed include a trip to England for $160, a 12-day Caribbean cruise, or a leisurely four-month round the world voyage.

The booklet is published by Harian Publications, Greenlawn, New York, and may be obtained by sending to the publisher. So, when it arrives all you need to do is sit down and take your choice. The booklet lists literally hundreds of ocean trips.

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